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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XVII.—NO. 23.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION

London correspondent of the Courier & Enquirer.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, the negro, who, coming to this country as a steersman passenger in the *Comet*, more than a year since, managed to create a disturbance on board by his libels upon the slaveholding States of the Union, has again brought himself into notice, and, of course, as a martyr. Now that he has returned to the States, where his history and character are known, he will probably subside again into obscurity; a state in every way subserve to his desert, and appropriate to his doctrine; for however much the blacks may be oppressed and wronged, those who insist upon their perfect equality with the whites, surely forget that total darkness is the only natural condition in which there is no distinction of color.

This negro impostor, Douglass, could, as all such impostors unfortunately do, find sympathizing and subscribing auditories in England; and having lived for some months upon his gross misrepresentations of one of our great social evils, is represented as the hero of a *Stigmann's soirée* at the London Tavern, where George Thompson is, of course, prominent, and where, to the amazement, even Douglass Jerry could not be allowed to obtain a cabin passage to Boston in the *Comet*, the identical vessel in which he came here; he goes to the London office of the steam company, expecting to be refused a ticket, and doubtless intending to "write a letter to the Times," on the subject of this infringement of the rights of man, as a sort of farewell to his English "constituents," At the office he finds a boy, who literally ignorant of the difference between black and white, supplies him with the desired ticket for a berth on board the *Comet*. Armed with this ticket, obtained with a perfect knowledge that he could not be allowed to make use of it, he hastens to Liverpool, and wins the desired crown of martyrdom, by being compelled to take back his money and give up his berth. Then, of course, comes the letter to the *Times* about the Rights of Man, and the Times cites as an evidence of American prejudice the refusal of a *British* steam-ship, employed by the British Government, to carry a black passenger among the white ones.

A few days elapse, and some facetious gentleman, signing himself "Charles Barrow, of Aggill, Virginia," and professing to be chief proprietor of the *Comet* steamers, writes a letter in defense of the steam Company, full of sound argument, but unfortunately full of conclusive facts, utterly deficient in truth. This is placed in conjunction with a letter from Mr. McIver, the Liverpool agent of the steamers, in which he handles Mr. Douglass very gently, but insinuates that his statements are false. The next day is published a letter from the real proprietor of the steamer, Mr. S. Cunard, stating there is no such person as Mr. Barrow pretends to be, and that his statements are entirely untrue. Had Mr. Cunard stopped here, all would be well—but there is something very Talyrandish about the sentence with which his letter closes. "No one can regret more than I do the unpleasant circumstances respecting Mr. Douglass's passage; but I can assure you that nothing of the kind will again take place in the steam-ships with which I am connected."

Does Mr. Cunard mean that he yields to popular clamor, and will take negroes as cabin-passengers without respect to the noses of his white supporters; or that he will take especial care that no *negro tickets* will be sold to negroes?

The matter deserves no remark, but I cannot help observing that the *Times* has made no attempt to explain its publication of the spurious letter.—Anglo Knickerbocker.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE BOSTON POST.

NEW-YORK, May 13, 1847.

The abolitionists, headed by Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, and tailed by Mr. Frederick Douglass, the fugitive slave, are in full blast at the Broadway Tabernacle. They are very violent, exceedingly rabid, and somewhat inclined to do a variety of fantastic tricks. They talk about the dissolution of the Union, and contend that it is very unpatriotic to defend precious instrument, which Mr. Webster contends, must not be touched—cannot be violated without committing an overt act of treason. As ultra as these people are, they are not a whit more so than our friends of the South, who threaten to dissolve the whole world, and the Union into the bargain, if the people of the North say one word about slavery. Both classes of the people here best keep cool, and understand that, whenever this Union is dissolved, the whole people of the United States will claim the privilege having a hand in the business.

Mr. Douglass is a free man, and a good deal of a demagogue in black, and in his violence and violence does not differ materially from other demagogues of a whiter complexion. He'll do nobody any harm. It is said, that though yesterday surrounded by a goodly number of non-resistants of the brother Garrison school, he was armed to the teeth, and was in fact a walking *San Juan de Ulua*.

NORTHERN NOSES TO THE GRINDSTONE.

From the N. Y. Subterranean, edited by Mike Walsh.

FRACTICAL AMALGAMATION.

It will be recollect that an impudent black vagabond, named Douglass, who has been traipsing the United States in Europe, to the great amusement of the most narrow-minded and bigoted portion of the detesters of republicanism in the hemisphere, recently reiterated his slanders in an obscure gathering of fanatics in this city, after which, he very suddenly departed to Albany, about which he has for sometime been lounging, loaing and spanging. A most disgusting intimacy sprung up there between him and a white woman, possessing immensely more piety than beauty, and as well as for any circumstances, attack a woman, unless it be for her beauty to her own sex. So open and barefaced was the said religious lady in her disgraceful intercourse with this semi-bahoon, that she regularly promenaded the public streets with him, and on one occasion had the unblushing effrontry to bring him into the ladies' gallery, in the Assembly Chamber, from which, however, he was promptly and unmercifully ejected, by Mr. Sianturky. When he came down to attend the Tabernacle gathering, he was accompanied by his pious lady who procured a double state room on board the steamer Hendrick Hudson, the commander of which had but little idea that the other occupant was to be a most repulsive looking darkey. It appears that when she retired, she left the door unfastened, and her slyly paramour watched for an opportunity to make descents upon their consorts; you have burnt their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned these persons. I do, therefore, affirm that, instead of exacting unconditional submission from the United States, that of the 703 officers and privates, 15,905 non-commissioned officers and privates, making an aggregate of volunteer forces under General Taylor of 16,686 men, there had been discharged, up to the 7th December, 3,079.

THE 'ONE IDEA' AT THE SOUTH.

The Democratic Standard, a prominent Virginia paper, referring to the Abolition Whigs of Massachusetts, says:

"The Abolitionists are a powerful party, and the man who could give them utterance, like Satan in *Paradise Lost*, from lowest hell would seek a lower still, that he might stand supreme in deeds of most perfidious villainy. Argument or expositation with such one would be as useless as the respiration of a mite against the hurricane of the fierce north wind. As iniquitous as it is, it is not to be wondered at, and hardly to be lamented, that an assemblage of even demented old women with breeches and without, should, with such relishes, break up in a riot. From such, in their infamous career, we would most piously ejaculate—'Good Lord deliver us!'

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in which they can give themselves deliverance. They could not, however, carry the amendment; that was too sweeping; nor could they carry the amendment of the whole subject.

Dr. Peck was in favor of some such course of action as that proposed by the articles, and had long been so. They must separate themselves from a class of slaveholders. He could not tell how many were of that class, but they were very numerous, and when he met a slaveholder, he wished for some evidence that he was an exception. He would take such a medium position as that looked toward by the articles proposed. He thought that if they wished to have the Alliance exercise any wide influence in the country, they must make some expression on slavery. Dr. Peck then went into an account of the origin of the articles relating to slavery. The Committee, after much deliberation, had at first decided to say nothing about slavery, but they had received many letters from all parts of the country, and on subsequent examination, they had felt bound to introduce some moderate resolutions on the subject of slavery, as without that, they would not get out to sea at all. After receiving all of these communications, he could not doubt that it was necessary to say something. The state of opinion required it. Notwithstanding they had, from national feeling, objected to the introduction of the subject in London, they could not refrain from taking it up here. Perhaps they might not be able to form any Evangelical Alliance that would have any moral influence and power that could do much good, so great was the division of their views. But he believed that by taking a medium ground, they might unite the great body of judicious Christians. How far he was right, only experience would show. But if they took such ground against slavery, and any Southern man should refuse to join them, because they declared slaveholding for gain to be a sin, they would put him in the wrong. How should they make the discrimination? They could institute no inquisitorial tribunal. They could not tell with what mental reserves their doctrinal basis might be signed, or how signers received the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, for instance. An Arian might use their language. They must leave the matter to professors of individuals. He believed that such a declaration would exclude slaveholders. The wicked would not wish to become members, if they said anything at all against slavery. The good slaveholders could not become such, unless they were unconsciously conscientious, and did not fear to be hooted at. He could also in favor of the proposed action, because it would insure the union of the British and American Alliance. He could not agree with the suggestion, that they might form an Alliance wholly independent of the British one. He was an American by birth, by preference, and by prejudice. But he would not have his Christian sympathy bounded by national lines, and if they could be separated from the Christian fellowship of their relatives—descended from the same stock as themselves—in England and in Scotland, which should they go?

On the conclusion of Dr. Peck's remarks, the Conference took a recess for dinner.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—The proceedings of the afternoon were commenced in a speech of some length by Dr. Lewis, who earnestly deprecated action on the subject of slavery, as alien to the purpose of the Alliance. If they made no declaration at all, the debates which had already taken place would be enough to satisfy any pledge expressed or implied, to act against slavery. These debates would be published to the world. Every one of the principal arguments used here would be presented to the world in the public print by reporters who were present. So too slaveholders would feel themselves excluded by the same thing.

According to his views and feelings, harmony would be most promoted by leaving aside every object but Christian union and brotherly love. He intended to take a course which should be productive of as much harmony as that taken in London.

Rev. G. D. Abbot would present the reasons for his opposition to the introduction of the subject of slavery at all. He disengaged entirely, with great respect, from the impressions of his brother Peck, as to the implication of any pledge made to the British brethren to bring slavery into the American Alliance, meaning thereby to exclude slaveholders. He knew of no such pledge at all, and should, he thought, be able to establish the position that there was no such pledge. To do so, the speaker read in support of this assertion the printed protest of the American clergy against the introduction of the slavery question into the London Conference. Further, if there had been any private word of the American brethren in Committees at London, by which the American Alliance had pledged, what was the authority for doing this? To his vision, and to very many others, when this subject of slavery entered the Christian Alliance, the Alliance entered the penumbra of our eclipse, and when it should get out did not appear. There were other agencies through which they might speak against slavery. The principle of division of labor was as necessary to the progress of Christ's Kingdom as in a cotton factory. The Alliance ought not to be the animal to carry every burden that should go into the gates of Jerusalem. He agreed heartily with what Dr. Peck said yesterday, that Christian Union alone was object enough. Unless they devoted themselves to that alone, there was danger that the whole enterprise would fail. One word as to the philosophy of exclusion. He did not read that Christ or the Apostles practised the exclusion of those who were guilty of any sin. Even Judas was not rudely driven away by his Lord.

Dr. De Witt would not speak, were he not compelled to leave soon; otherwise he should leave the floor to the occupation of those who held views opposite to those expressed by the last speaker. The speaker then gave a brief account of the origin of the Alliance, and of the mode in which the American churches became connected with it. Had they known at the very outset that the British brethren intended to set up any strict limitations on the subject of slavery, they would scarcely have joined in the movement. In the London meeting, there was a spirit of devotion and union in the religious exercises before the subject of slavery was introduced, and he believed that to have been a conservative spirit without which the subject would have been an agitating one. If they introduced slavery, other things must come up. Brother March might come in, and insist on their including Temperance as a test, and on their throwing the influence of the Alliance in behalf of that cause, and so of other causes. He trusted he would have credit when he said he was Anti-Slavery in feeling and principle; but if they were to adopt any rule to exclude slaveholders, he, for one, must stand by the men at the South, who were laboring with the burden of slavery, who were groaning under it and praying over it. God raise up thousands of such men, for them something might be done to act in the furtherance of the great ends of Christ's Kingdom. Christian Unity was a hollowed act. There were other methods of reaching other objects, but let this one be kept sacred by itself.

Dr. Peck wished to make some explanation. His brother Abbott had brought out a paper with a great deal of formality, as if he intended to convict him of contradiction. (Mr. Abbott here rose, and denied any such intention, and Dr. Schumacker who had listened attentively to his remarks, said that he had perceived no such intention in them.) Dr. Peck then went on to explain his reasons for his signing the printed protest read by Mr. Abbott, and to argue against the views taken by that gentleman. As to pledges in England, he could not say where such were given, nor did he know personally that there were, but he gathered from what had been said by the British and Scotch brethren, that they had inferred such a pledge from the general range of reasoning on the subject.

Chief Justice Hornblower would offer something by way of compromise in the present crisis. He was, he believed, the only layman in the Conference, and as such felt great difficulty in presenting his opinion on a theological and ecclesiastical subject so intimately concerning the interest of religion. He was born when Slavery was the law of the land in which he had his birth. His parents were slaveholders, and he grew up as such. He was not an advocate for Slavery, for there was no opposition to Slavery, and of course no advocates for it. Now he hated Slavery, and in the language of Dr. Bond, he loved to hate. He came to this meeting with the impression that if they were to form a Christian Alliance, they must do something to limit it to those with whom they could fraternize, believing them to be truly Christians. He had been greatly instructed by the remarks of Dr. Bond, and while nothing could heighten his opposition to Slavery, he felt even more strongly than before that they might take more decided action on this subject of Slavery. But when he listened to the venerable and trembling voice of

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, JUNE 4, 1847.

NEW-ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

another father (Dr. Lewis,) he felt that they must agree, and for this they must compromise. Many estimable men were convinced that they ought not to bring this subject prominently forward. But if they should say nothing, it would be a triumph of pro-Slavery. The upholders of Slavery knew that the Conference had been discussing the subject, and had voted it down; they would regard it as a victory in behalf of the horrible system they supported. The Press had published the proceedings of the Conference, and spread them wide over the land. [Here the distinguished speaker digressed to speak in very high terms of the reports of the Tribune, as being faithful, complete and respectful toward the Conference.] The speaker then read a paper containing a substitute for the fifth article, and Mr. Chaney's amendment.

The resolution and amendment having been postponed, the substitute of Chief Justice Hornblower was read, as follows:

"The meeting was brought to a close on Thursday evening of last week. The official proceedings are on the last page, but these furnish nothing more than the Resolutions which were presented for consideration, to enable those who were not present to form an idea as to the nature and scope of the discussions. We have copied from the Post a pretty fair, though still meagre report of the many interesting speeches made on the occasion. Unfortunately, so great was the difficulty of being heard in the hall, on account of the absence of the gallery, that of the vast throng constantly in attendance, comparatively few could hear any of the speakers uninterruptedly and connectedly. Yet never was more interest felt manifested in all that was said and done; never were there better speeches delivered on any platform; never was there a more choice collection of unfaltering friends of the slave. When such men as Wendell Phillips, W. H. Channing, Theodore Parker, Caleb Stetson, Edmund Quincy, C. L. Remond, W. W. Brown, Parker Pillsbury, S. S. Foster and J. C. Hathaway, and such women as Lucretia Mott (almost the paragon of her sex) and J. Elizabeth Jones, stood forth to address the assembly, how could there be a failure on the score of talent, rhetoric or eloquence?

To the disgrace of the city, we are sorry to add that the evening meetings were greatly disturbed by well-dressed rowdies, and that, on the last evening, a large number of the seated were destroyed or badly injured by them—they behaving throughout like beasts and reptiles, alternately bellowing and hissing, let who would attempt to speak, whether a Channing, a Parker, a Phillips, or a Mott.

LIBEL ON FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

In this week's 'REFUGE OF OPPRESSORS,'—a department which has long been the receptacle of all that is abominable and dastardly in the conduct and language of the enemies of the anti-slavery cause, is an atrocious article from the pen of the notorious MIKE WALSH, which appeared in his paper, the 'Subterranean,' in which Mr. Douglass is called 'an impudent black vagabond,' a 'semi-baboon,' 'a most repulsive looking darkey,' a 'sooty parson,' a 'thick-lipped Lothario,' &c., and charges are made affecting his moral purity, as well as that of one of the best women in the world, connected with the Society of Friends—winding up with the declaration that abolitionists are 'hypocritical and senseless knaves,' and that their annual gatherings are composed of 'sly, sneaking blackguards, both male and female, who congregate for the vilest and most revolting purposes'!!

We at first hesitated whether to copy an article so filthy, malicious and devilish; and we were induced to do so, solely to show our trans-Atlantic friends how fiendish the spirit which prevails in this country against complexionality. It is needless for us to add, that there is no truth in this libelous assault, except that a state room was secured for the sole occupancy of Mr. Douglass, by an estimable friend, (without stating the captain who was to be the occupant of it,) in order that he might not have his health and life exposed by being driven forward among cattle and bales of goods; and out of this humane act has this miserable creature Walsh manufactured his budget of lies. He seems anxious to be thrust again into prison for his malevolent conduct. To think of such a man standing at the head of the laboring classes in New-York!

NORFOLK COUNTY AMERICAN.

One of the best conducted and most independent journals on our list of exchanges, is the 'Norfolk County American,' published at Dedham, and edited by E. L. KEYES, Esq., the author of the admirable Report on the Mexican War, which was presented to the Massachusetts Legislature at its last session, and the publication of which we have nearly completed in the columns of the Liberator. Although Mr. Keyes is a Whig, in his views of the true policy and action of the national government, yet he is not so far a partisan as to forget his individual responsibility, and that the triumph of Right is of much greater consequence than the success of a Party. Though the 'Liberty party' had several representatives in the Legislature, what they said or did in aid of the anti-slavery movement, we have yet to learn from any quarter. They were as inert and as useless as the codfish that hung over the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives. It is, we believe, simply awarding credit to whom it is due to say, that Mr. Keyes solely belongs the honor of having induced the Legislature to express, in unequivocal language, its condemnation of the war with Mexico, as characterized by the most revolting features, and waged expressly to give extension and perpetuity to slavery.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOSTON COURIER:

My Dear Sir,—I have seen in your paper, which I read with great pleasure, some statements respecting the introduction of a certain clause into the first article of our State Constitution. I have the authority of my late brother, John Lowell, for saying that he knew that his father, the late Judge Lowell, who was on the committee, introduced this clause for the express purpose of settling the question about slavery in the State, and that, as soon as the constitution was adopted, he declared that every black in the State was free, and offered his services, gratuitously, to any such person whose right to his freedom was contested. My brother further told me that he believed my father wrote that article himself. You well know that my brother was not accustomed to assert what he did not believe to be true; and in this case, he was qualified to know the facts, for he studied law with his father, and was his confidential friend.

I well remember, myself, when I was a boy at Andover Academy, being often told by an intelligent old black man who sold buns, that my father was the friend of the blacks, and the cause of their being free, or something to that effect, and that I often had a bun or two extra on this account.

I may further state that in October, 1773, an action was brought against Richard Greenleaf of Newburyport, by Caesar (Hendrick) a colored man, whom he claimed as his slave, for holding him in bondage. He laid the damages at fifty pounds. The counsel for the plaintiff, in whose favor the jury brought in their verdict, and awarded him eighteen pounds, damages and costs, was John Lowell, Esq., afterward Judge Lowell. This case excited much interest, as it was the first, if not the only one of the kind, that ever occurred in the country.*

I have a repugnance to the introduction of my name into the papers as the author of a communication, (and I do not write anonymously,) but consent to its being done on the present occasion, if you think there is not the slightest objection to it, and it is important to give any authority to it. I am, respectfully, dear sir,

Yours and friend, servant,

May 17, 1847. CHAS. LOWELL.

* Coffin's History of Newbury, p. 339.

NEW-ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

The Anti-Slavery Convention was, of course, the grand centre of attraction, as the evil which it assembled to discuss is the giant evil of our country. The number in attendance was unusually large, and the spirit manifested on the part of the speakers and listeners excellent. There was some disturbance by a few rowdies, on Tuesday evening, but in the main the sessions were distinguished by quiet and order, and were devoted to the earnest consideration of the enormity of slavery. The Convention was organized by the choice of Frederick Douglass as President, but to the regret of all he was unable to be present, being detained at home by a severe attack of sickness. The speaking was as usual of a high order, and had reference to the war, church and state, Evangelical Alliance, and the southern tour of Daniel Webster. Wendell Phillips delivered an exceedingly elegant and convincing speech upon the course that Mr. Webster has seen fit to pursue in Charleston, S. C.—the 'craven cowardice' he manifested on the spot where the State of Massachusetts was insulted in the person of Hon. S. Hoar, in not uttering a word of condemnation of that proceeding—the arrogance he displayed in assuming to represent the people of this State when he was afraid to utter their universal opinion upon that matter. Several new speakers appeared in addition to the old standards, among whom J. C. Hathaway, of New York, was prominent as an excellent orator. This Anniversary must be regarded as an eminently successful one, calculated to exert a good influence.—Boston corresponded of an exchange paper.

THE LIBERATOR.

RESISTANCE TO SLAVERY.

'Resistance to Slavery every Man's Duty. A Report on American Slavery, read to the Worcester Central Association, March 2, 1847. Boston: Wm. H. Crosby and H. P. Nichols, 111 Washington-street.'

This Report was presented by the Rev. GEORGE ALLEN, as Chairman of the Committee of the Association, and is undoubtedly from his pen. The Association voted, unanimously, that, in their opinion, it contains facts, arguments and illustrations, worthy of the consideration of all the friends of humanity; and that, in order to promote the dissemination of its truths, the Association request him to publish the same, in such form as he may deem most suitable. As a specimen of its style and power, we have extracted from it, in our last number, on the omnipresence and omnipotence of the Slave Power. It is a finished production, such as might be expected from its author. Mr. Allen is one of the best writers in the country. In these days of transcendental affectation, and German imitation and mannerism, it is refreshing to read a piece of composition so terse and clear, so dignified and impressive. The magnitude of the crime of Slavery is exhibited with great effect, and an emphatic testimony borne against it. Justly does he say—It is by no means true, that the most monstrous vices are therefore the most hated. Nay, it is but too often the case, that their magnitude is their immunity. Their wide prevalence not only makes them feel secure, but arrogates for them the qualities of virtue. Magnificent sins win magnificent advocates. Formerly, in the days of its feebleness, when its political influence was comparatively unimportant, and its pecuniary value of little consideration, Slavery was every where represented to be an evil, a curse, and a calamity; but now, it has even come to this, that Slavery is extolled as an institution of pre-eminent wisdom and worth, to be cherished, extended and perpetuated for the greatest good of its victims, and as the safeguard of general liberty, the nurse of magnanimous honor, and the source of the most affluent happiness! Such is the progress of this nation since its Declaration of Independence was given to the world.

We have already stated that this Report was published at the request of the Worcester Central Association. This Association is mainly, if not exclusively, composed of ministers of an 'orthodox' type; not one of whom, we suppose, would be willing to be regarded as a 'Garrison abolitionist,' or to stand upon the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society. We cannot except Mr. Allen himself; for, though he once stood by our side, battling manfully against the enemies of our cause in the trying times of universal mobocracy, he was among the seceders who left us in 1840, and has ever since refused to be identified with us. These facts are not without their value. We believe that, in due time, every position that we have assumed in regard to the proper mode of dealing with Slavery and its abettors, whether relating to Church or State, will be conceded to be just and proper, even by those who have allowed themselves to be the most widely alienated from us. For no one act have we so strongly censured, so fiercely maligned, as for our impeachment of the American church as the stronghold of Slavery, and hence as antagonistic to the church of Christ. This has cost us our religious reputation, and subjected us to the senseless charge of infidelity; but we have made the sacrifice with great cheerfulness, for Truth's sake, believing with an apostle, that it is a small thing to be judged of man's judgment, and that our sufficiency is of God. But witnesses, who stand high in the estimation of the church—occupants of the pulpit, who are anxious to maintain both their characters and their places—are coming forward, and testifying to the verity of all that the 'come-outer' have affirmed, in relation to the pro-slavery position of the American church and clergy. What says this calm, dispassionate Report on this subject? 'SLAVERY HAS PUT ITS HAND UPON THE CHURCH AND ITS MINISTRY.' After the most liberal concessions for the anti-slavery fidelity of many ministers—the most charitable allowance for the good intentions of many others, who have hesitated to act in public against Slavery, from a misapprehension of an effect injurious to the interests of the slave—still, the Report declares that a 'temporizing expediency' has suppressed the voice of the church and of the ministry. In those States where Slavery sits empire, 'no place is too sacred for the intrusion of her evil, no thing too holy for her sacrilegious use, no minister of religion so consecrated to God as to feel safe without the imposition of her impious hand. The church is her city of habitation and of refuge: its pulpits are her watch-towers, its ministers her sentinels: the Bible is her rule of arbitrary faith and practice.'

Frederick Douglass and the Steam-Press.

The hint thrown out in our Journal of the 10th of April, has been taken up. Every where the recent outbreak of this rebellion, to the white colored race, and to the law and public feelings of England, on board the Cambria, has raised the friends of Freedom, Lists for subscriptions are already made out, and in process of distribution. They are for subscriptions of from one shilling upwards. Let every friend of liberty put down his offering, and such a monument of infamy to the oppressor and the scourge of colored men, and of support to a true champion of his brethren's cause, will be raised, as will send a terror into the very heart of the slavery system. By this means, Frederick Douglass would be placed in a situation free from care, to devote his whole life and energy to the Anti-Slavery cause. A list will be at our office for signatures.

In the same connexion, it is stated that a series of papers, under the head of Monthly Illustrations of American Slavery, is issued by the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in Newcastle, and that they abound with the most striking facts.

The Journal also states, that on the 19th April, Mr. J. P. Parker delivered a lecture on the subject of the Anti-Slavery League and Temperance Societies at the Star of Temperance Hall, London. A Remonstrance against American Slavery will lie for signatures at every Temperance meeting throughout London. In an admirable Address to the Members of Temperance Societies in the United States, reference is made to the colored supporters of the Temperance cause in this country, and it is added—

'We have been told that these were not represented at our Temperance Convention, because they feared lest, the color of their skin being different to ours, we should not have received them as dear brethren. We regret that such should have been the case; we should have hailed their appearance with joyful acclamation; we should have received them with fraternal affection, and have listened to their statements or suggestions with profound respect. With us, there is no respect of persons, whether white, or black, or red, or yellow; all men with us are brethren, children of the same Almighty Parent, the offspring of the same community.'

Now, we challenge the most incensed of all our accusers, those who have been the loudest in their hue-and-cry of 'infidelity' against us, to say when and where we have impeached the American church and ministers, North and South, in severer language than this,—in a manner more deeply affecting their religious pretensions. We defy them to call from the pages of the 'Brotherhood of Thieves,' by Stephen S. Foster—or from those of 'The Church as it is,' by Parker Pillsbury—or from any of the species made by any of the anti-slavery agents—any assertions more sweeping, any charges more damnable, any imputations more degrading, than those which are contained in these extracts from this Report. The testimony of Mr. Allen and the Association is so palpably correct, that the interrogation of that vile calumny which had declaimed the negro to be an uninteresting and inferior being, He stood, a man distinguished by his talents and eloquence, among men long acknowledged by us as talented and eloquent, and from them and from us he received the respectfully and cordially offered right hand of fellowship and affection.

There came with one of the delegates from your highly-favored land, a man who had been, as we were informed, a slave in one of your southern States—his name Frederick Douglass. He stood on our Temperance platforms at our largest places of assembly, and we rejoiced to hear him speak of what our principles had done for his colored brethren.

We recognized in him a triumphant refutation of that vile calumny which had declaimed the negro to be an uninteresting and inferior being.

He was a man distinguished by his talents and eloquence, among men long acknowledged by us as talented and eloquent, and from them and from us he received the respectfully and cordially offered right hand of fellowship and affection.

Allow me, through your paper, to suggest to them

to avoid a comparison of the condition of their suffering classes, which would, in any way, admit the idea

that the slave is not, in every particular, in a worse

situation. Take the laborers of Europe in his

estate, and you will find the slave bearing the same

burden as the European laborer has passed, and that the dawn of a brighter day has blazed their

longing vision. The various writers appear to be

induced by the love of man as man, and are there-

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SKETCHES OF THE SAYINGS AND DOINGS AT THE N. E. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.
[Reported for the Boston Post, by Thomas Gill, Esq.]

TUESDAY MORNING.

Joseph C. Hathaway, of Farmington, N. Y., was the first who rose to make an address, and, after hailing the American board of foreign missions under the fifth rib for its condition with slaveholders, he dwelt at some length upon the superiority of moral, as well as military courage, and proceeded to show how, in consequence of lack of the former, Cassius M. Clay had become a soldier in Mexico, and engaged in war as a support to slavery. He also had much of the same sort to say of Mr. Winthrop, our member to Congress, because he had voted for supplies for carrying on a war which he said he did not approve.

The stand was next taken by William W. Brown, who, according to his own story, is a fugitive slave from Missouri, but whose home is now in the western part of New York. He was glad to have an opportunity to speak in the Athens of America; and, saying that, being a fugitive slave, he was, in the eye of the law of Massachusetts and of the other free states, not a man, not a human being, but a chattel, a piece of property, a saleable commodity, claimed to be heard in behalf of three millions of chattels. His remarks had the merit of relating to the question proposed to be discussed, and nothing else.

Mr. Garrison, after some remarks about business, touched on the declension of the church on the subject of slavery, and, referring to the remark made by Brown about the Athens of America, said that Boston did at least resemble Athens in one respect. We do not know and do not worship the true God. The Rev. Messrs. Grew, of Philadelphia, and Chester, of Rhode Island, followed with some general reflections upon those who yet find excuses for slavery.

In the afternoon—Rev. Mr. Grew spoke to the resolution about the Evangelical Alliance, fully supporting it.

Mr. Wendell Phillips then opened the ball in earnest, and blazed away at the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, Rev. Edward Beecher, Harrison Gray Otis, who once spoke of the abolitionists as men mad enough to put the Bible above the statute book, and S. Calhoun, and the Gospel of South Carolina, according to George M. Duffie. Thus far he spoke without exciting any opposition. But when he proceeded to speak of 'scoundrels like James K. Polk, a any number of cowards like Daniel Webster, and others began to shout. These marks of disapprobation had the effect of concentrating the speaker's attention upon Mr. Webster, who, he said, had sold his soul for an empty nomination—for the mere jingle of the seals of office. He was a friend had suggested, a northern fox caught by a southern goose.

After contrasting the tone of Mr. Webster's Plymouth oration in 1820 with that of his recent speech at Charleston, Mr. Phillips instituted a parallel between him and Charles James Fox, of England, whom, he said, he equalled in genius, and resembled in his vices, and might, but for his hopeless aspirations for the presidency, have resembled in his virtue as a public man. He then passed to the business of political parties in Boston, and the Rev. Dr. Putnam, of Roxbury, who backs them. He next defined a Yankee's conscience in the matter of committing the giant sin of taking the oath of office to support the constitution of the United States in public, and then endeavoring to keep well with the opponents of slavery by saying privately—I don't want to do anything towards restoring fugitive slaves.' Having said that the old-fashioned Norman Furies would have scouted this society of a modern slaveholder, he stated why he considered a pirate superior to the slaveholder. Then, recurring to Mr. Webster, he said he did not wish to be considered uniformly to him. On the contrary, he came to the convention to serve his best interest—to preserve his early fame; to restore to him his voice—to consecrate the honorable Daniel Webster. Even so, he believed him to be as good a man as George N. Briggs, and perhaps a better man than our representative to Congress from Boston. But he had not represented Massachusetts at Charleston. He had not represented her feelings at the treatment of Samuel Hoor. He should not have gone there, if he had not equal to the crisis of speaking for Massachusetts, in reference to the treatment of that individual. His coward lips should not have taken the name of the honored State, which he had not the courage to represent faithfully. He had acted the part of the fawning sycophant, and not that of a true representative of Massachusetts' sentiment. But Daniel Webster was born in New Hampshire—thank God for that! After some further remarks about double-tongued hypocrites, speaking still in reference to Mr. Webster, Mr. Phillips alluded to the progress of anti-slavery views in New Hampshire, and then sat down.

A fugitive slave from Louisiana was introduced to speak, by the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy, but he could not get the 'lang of the school-house,' and gave way to Lewis Hayden, another fugitive, who stated that he had gained his liberty through the instrumentality of Cato Fairbanks and Delia Webster. He made out very well, and his success emboldened the other to try his luck again, and he came up to the work paper, saying he wished the ball was five million times larger than it was, and that his voice was like ten million thunderbolts to hit it. They took particular pleasure in repeating what the English have had to say about slavery in this country.

William A. White, Esq., of Watertown, followed, on the trucking of Massachusetts, the craven spirit of her great men, and Gov. Briggs, and the public press.

In the evening, the chapel was crowded, and discussion was resumed by the Rev. Thomas Williams, of Rhode Island, who, after speaking of the war spirit of his father and mother in the days of the revolution, proposed 'that a committee be raised to propose declarations or offer resolutions on this question—Is it not right and proper, to adopt immediate and decisive measures for military preparations for the removal of slavery from these states, called the United States of America?' He maintained that a war for such a purpose would be justifiable; and that God would be on the side of those who drew the sword for the liberation of the slaves.

Charles L. Remond, of Salem, and James N. Buffum, of Lynn, well known anti-slavery speakers, addressed the convention, and proved themselves expert at the business.

Stephen S. Foster was allowed to speak without much opposition until he said, 'If we had men instead of monkeys in Massachusetts, she would not be a moment longer preserve even the form of union with such a State as South Carolina.' He rebuked the hissing and stamping caused by this remark, but he soon after raised a breeze, by saying—State on Massachusetts—shame on Massachusetts, the meanest State that lives.' He maintained that England or France had as much right to interfere for the liberation of the slaves of the south, as we have to send out missionaries to other countries for the purpose of changing the religious profession in them, and of course the political institutions connected with and depending upon those systems of religion.

The Rev. Mr. Willis, from New Hampshire, next spoke for fifteen minutes, without arousing any opposition; and then the convention, on motion of Mr. Garrison, adjourned till half-past nine on Wednesday morning.

Wednesday Morning.

William W. Brown, the fugitive slave, defended the principle upon which the anti-slavery league in

THE LIBERATOR.

Williams, of Rhode Island, were the next speakers, but said nothing very startling, or beyond what had been previously uttered on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison made an elaborate speech upon the unchristian requirements of the American government, necessarily resulting from the organic law on which it is founded. To illustrate the cruel operation of the law, he contrasted the spirit which gave birth to the relief expedition of the Jamestown to Cork, with the harsh repulses which the vessel with poor passengers from Cork received in our harbor last Monday, being driven off by the armed officers of the law, and compelled to make sail for a British provincial port.

On motion of Charles L. Remond, the question was now taken on the anti-church and dissolution resolution, and it was adopted—only some three voices being heard in the negative.

Mr. Garrison now read an address from the members of Cuffe Lane Temperance Society, Dublin, to their countrymen in America, signed by Father Spratt, president, and 882 members.

James N. Buffum, of Lynn, made a statement about the continued ill-health of Frederick Douglass, the president of the convention, and spoke of the additional affliction he labored under in consequence of his having been unable to be present to meet his co-laborers in the cause, and exchange congratulations with them.

Resolved, That we believe slaveholding to be in direct opposition to the law and will of God, entirely incompatible with the precepts and spirit of Christianity, and wholly at variance with a Christian profession; and, therefore,

Resolved, That no slaveholder ought to be elected to any office or agency in this Association.

Resolved, also, That the public apologist for slavery is, in our view, involved in the sin of slaveholding, at least equally with the slaveholder.

Objection was made, by one gentleman, to the expressions, 'Christian profession,' and 'apologist for slavery,' that they were so indefinite in their meaning, that he could not vote for the resolutions! With a view to obviate this difficulty, and induce an expression of opinion on the matter more immediately in controversy, I presented the resolutions in a new form:

Resolved, That we believe slaveholding to be in direct opposition to the law and will of God, and entirely incompatible with the precepts and spirit of Christianity; and, therefore,

Resolved, That no slaveholder ought to be elected to any office or agency in this Association.

At the afternoon session—

William W. Brown, the fugitive, rose to speak on the general subject of slavery, and expressed much regret at the ignorance of the people on the subject, and the great trouble which that ignorance causes to those worthy persons who wish to wake them up to the enormity of the system. He passed to the slave influence upon the legislation of the free States, and attributed to it the law of Ohio which does not allow a colored man to be a witness in a case where a white man is a party. This provision is contained in force out of compliance to Kentucky. If colored people were allowed equal rights in free States near the slave States, its moral effect would be injurious to the slave interests in the other States, and the slaveholders know it. The injustice practiced towards colored men was not the result of any prejudice against color. On the contrary, black was a very popular color for a thousand objects. How happens it, he asked, if black is so unpopular a color, that a white dandy will give ninepence to have his boots blacked, when he could get them whitewashed for three cents?

G. W. F. Mellen, of this city, commenced a physiological dissertation on the colors by which the different races of the human family are distinguished; but there was no disposition on the part of the audience to hear him, and the floor was made to send forth long continued rumbles of theatrical thunder.

J. B. Sanderson, a colored gentleman, commenced his discourse by giving a definition of the word 'unconscious.' But he spoke well—quoted Solon and Pope—particularly the couplet which explains how it happens that there are so many mulattoes, though he did not cite it for that purpose—and went for justice, even if the heavens should fall.

Stephen S. Foster said that nothing less than an entire and total separation from the South, the Church and State, would answer the purpose. He said no man of common sense, who prayed, could ever pray to God to preserve the government of the United States. The prayer to God is—Let thy kingdom come. But the kingdom of God cannot come while the government of the United States stands, the two things being morally incompatible. While uttering these declarations, he was repeatedly interrupted by hisses. He said the hisses did not come from the old serpent himself, for he had too much sense not to see the palpable truth of what he had uttered. The hisses, therefore, must come from the wire moved puppets of some very stupid men. They appeared, he said, to be young men, and that might be some excuse for their ignorance of the plainer truth.

After much interruption, he got to work on his great proposition, that the constitution of the Union guarantees the laws of the States, and agrees to sustain them, including the slave laws. Our government differed from that of Russia in this: there one pyramid Nicholas governed thirty-six millions. Here fifteen millions of pugnacious Nicholas governed three millions. In Russia, no man was without the protection of law. Here three millions were without such protection. There no man was prohibited from reading the Scriptures. Here it is a crime punishable with death to teach a man to read them.

Mrs. Mott attempted to speak, but being interrupted by cries of 'louder,' became embarrassed, and was obliged to withdraw.

Wendell Phillips followed, sustaining the resolutions at some length, and repeating his condemnation of the course of Daniel Webster, without much interruption.

Adjoined.

Thursday Morning.

Mr. Sprague, of Duxbury, advocated the dissolution of the Union, believing that the time has arrived when the slave states may be peaceably separated from the free states.

Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones, of Ohio, next ascended the platform, and was introduced to the audience. She said she hardly knew how to address a Northern assembly on a subject so pure one of principle and humanity. In the log-cabin of her Western home, in the district school-house, and even in the temporary field booth, surrounded by the sturdy yeomanry of Ohio, she had been accustomed to speak her mind freely on slavery, and the obstacles to its abolition. But in New England, the seat of priestly domination, of sectarianism, of prejudice, of preachers, she did not feel confident in addressing the audience. I have no doubt I shall be able to gain for him a hearing, and in so doing save the time of the convention. The fact is, our friend is full, and he must be allowed to discharge what he has to offer. He is a resolute man, and will stand where he is until he has had an opportunity to relieve his mind. Opposition will only increase the morbid condition which impels him to address the convention at this unpropitious moment.

Mrs. Mellen replied, that he did not want the interference of Mr. Quincy in his behalf: and he particularly objected to the epithets 'unfortunate' and 'miserable' which Mr. Quincy had indiscriminately used.

Having paid off Mr. Quincy, Mr. Mellen attempted to go on with his speech, lost his reckoning, got out of his course, and was pronounced to be out of order and directed to sit down by the chairman. He at first, would neither obey the chair, nor appeal from the decision; but Mr. Quincy insisted that he should do one or the other, and the chairman at length put the question, whether he was correct in deciding the gentleman out of order. The vote was most emphatically in the affirmative, and then Mr. Mellen very coolly walked off the platform and much laught.

The chairman now, by request, read the resolution offered yesterday by Mr. Phillips, 'congratulating the country on the declining state of American religion.'

Mr. Quincy now, by request, read the resolution offered yesterday by Mr. Phillips, 'congratulating the country on the declining state of American religion.'

Mr. Phillips spoke to this resolve, and objected to the phraseology, suggesting the words, 'American idolatry' for 'American religion.'

He admitted that what is called religion at the present time is deserving of the character imputed to it in the resolve. He then passed to the Mexican war and slavery, and temperance, saying that the latter had proved to be the pioneer in the great moral and religious reformation.

These 'irreligious' men who are doing practical

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POETRY.

From the Morning Star.
A DREAM—WHEN AWAKE.

THE SLAVE.
I thought I beheld him all seated alone,
The toils of the day being closed:
Tho' wearied with labor, the slave could not sleep,
While others around him reposed.

His heart I perceived was a fountain of woe,
For deeply, most deeply he groaned;
The deep of oppression had entered his soul,
And thus his hard fate he bemoaned.

Oh! God, said the negro, how can I survive!
My life is a burden to me;

The day that they robbed me of all I hold dear,
Ah! why was I suffered to see?

My wife they have torn from my loving embrace,
Most basely insulted and sold;

Our children—my nature recalls at the thought—
Were shamefully bartered for gold.

Or, what but the heart of a demon, unmoved
Could witness our anguish that day?

But demons were there in the likeness of men,
And well did their malice display.

Our prayers and entreaties but met the rebuke
And scorn of our merciless foes;

They brandished the whip with infernal delight,
And mocked and derided our woes.

Thus riled of all that afforded delight,
I labor and weep all alone;

Then why should I live, since there's nothing on
earth

Worth a thought I can claim as my own?

I heard him thus far, when he rose from his seat,
And gazed for a moment around,

Then lifted his eyes up to heaven in prayer;
As meekly he knelt on the ground.

He poured out his soul with an eloquence there,
Which nature alone could impart;

And faith gave a pathos divine to his prayer,

That forced a response from my heart.

Then springing erect, on his feet stood the slave,
And raising his clasped hands on high,

He avowed by his Maker henceforth to be free,

Or, struggling for freedom, to die.

And as looked upward, O holy North Star,

I saw his tears shine in thy light;

And girding his soul with the hope of release,

He fled with the shades of the night.

The hand of Onnepotence guided him through,

And planted his foot on that shore,

Where hypocrites boast not of freedom in vain,

Where tyrants oppress him no more.

Almond, April 16, 1847.

G. W. WEBB.

From the Signal of Liberty.

ARE YOU FREE?

I asked of an eagle that dwelt upon high,
On the lightning-wreathed mountain top, bathed
in the sky,

Where the boar tempests growl, and the thunder
booms.

Are you free?

He turned down upon me one glance of his eye,
Then, shaking his pinions, he proudly pass'd by,

While a scream of contempt was his only reply.

I asked of a zephyr, gentle and bland,

That in musical murmurs swept over the land,

Breathing perfume upon every hand,

Are you free?

It roused up in anger, it whirled round in wrath,
And seizing a tall oak that stood in its path,

It snapped it asunder like the strong one of Gath;

And bearing it upward high into the air,

It scattered its leaflets and branches afar,

Then, shaking down temple and palace and cot,

It raged on in fury, but answered me not.

I asked of an owl, as he dozed on a bough,

Like a world hating hermit fulfilling his vow;

Letting other fret on, he didn't care how;

Are you free?

He oped his dull eyes, as if he would know

The being that ventured to question him so,

Then, rising indignant, he sailed away slow,

And send back for answer, a shrill Te-hoo.

I asked of a comet mighty and vast,

As on his long journey he went whizzing past,

Outspeeding the tempest in its mightiest blast,

Are you free?

He grew red with wrath, and shook his long tail,

And made all the nations with terror turn pale,

Expecting a tempest of red fiery hail—

Then, wheeling and whirling, he sped him in flight,

And quick in the distance was lost from my sight.

I asked of a roe-buck that lived in the wood,

That slept on the bank of the swift rolling flood,

And grazed for his living the pastures of God,

Are you free?

He deigned not to answer a question so vain,

But tossed up his horned head in proudest disdain,

And speedily bounded away o'er the plain.

I asked of a man with an immortal soul,

That must live when the sky shall depart like a scroll,

And still, on ages unnumbered shall roll,

Are you free?

He showed me his face, by his fellow-man mar'd,

He showed me his back, by the knotty lash scarred,

And sighted that his fate was so cruel and hard.

Ye seraphs that stand round the throne,

And gaze on the glories of God,

In the bright world of light make it known,

Proclaim the sad tidings abroad—

Tell angels, tell devils, let all beings see

That man, a poor victim to man, is not free!

HOW LONG! O, HOW LONG!

How long will the friend of the slave plead in vain?

How long ere the Christian will loosen the chain?

If he, by our efforts, more hardened should be,

O, Father, forgive him! we trust but in thee.

That's we'll free and equal, how senseless the city,

While millions in bondage are groaning so high!

O, where is our freedom? equality, where?

To this none can answer, but echo cries where?

O'er this stain on our country we'd fain draw a veil,

But history's page will proclaim the sad tale,

That Christians unbinding could shout 'we are free,'

While they the oppressors of millions could be.

They feel for them, for the Pole they can feel,

Towards Afric's children their hearts are like steel,

They are deaf to their call, to their wrongs they are blind;

In error they slumber, nor seek truth to find.

Though scorn and oppression on our pathway attend,

Despised and reviled, we the slave will befriend;

Our Father, thy blessing, we look but to thee,

Nor cease from our labors till all shall be free.

Should mobs in their fury with missiles assail,

The cause it is righteous, the truth will prevail;

Then heed not their clamors, though loud they pro-

claim

That freedom shall slumber and slavery, reign.

FAST DAY.

Well, yesterday was 'Fast Day,'

So, at least, the papers say,

And truly so it was, I think.

The fastest driving—fastest walking—

The fastest fighting—fastest talking—

Fastest work in vitiating and drink—

All serve to make it out, quite clear,

The Fastest day in all the year.

THE LIBERATOR.

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Convention met at the Marlboro' Chapel, on Tuesday, May 25th, at 10 o'clock, agreeably to public notice. The meeting was called to order by Francis Jackson, of Boston.

On motion of Edmund Quincy, of Dedham, voted that a committee of five be appointed to nominate a list of officers for the convention, viz: Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Seth Sprague, Loring Moody, and Sydney H. Gay.

The chairman of the nominating committee reported the subjoined list, and the persons therein named were duly elected:

President,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Lynn.

Vice Presidents—Seth Sprague, Durbury; Francis Jackson, Boston; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; James Mott, Philadelphia; James C. Hathaway, Farmington, New-York; Nathan Winslow, Portland; Charles F. Hovey, Boston.

Recording Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr. and Eliza J. Kenny, Lynn.

On finance and the roll—James N. Buffum, Lynn; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Loring Moody, Boston; Addison Davis, Lynn; John M. Spear, Boston.

Business Committee—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Sydney H. Gay, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Eliza Lee Follett, Lucretia Mott, Parker Pillsbury, Charles L. Remond, Anne W. Weston.

Discussed by Charles L. Remond, Anne W. Weston, Rev. Henry Grew, of Philadelphia.

Voted, that Wm. L. Garrison be a committee to wait upon Frederick Douglass, and inform him of his appointment.

Wm. L. Garrison offered the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, it is a self-evident truth, that where there is a sin, there must be a sinner; and that when the sinner ceases to exist, the sin of which he was guilty ceases to be:

And whereas, American Slavery is not merely a sinful system or institution, but a series of sinful acts, perpetrated by individuals, each of whom is separately responsible:

And whereas, when slavery becomes law, and assumes the form and stability of a social institution, the individual is not in consequence released from his responsibility to obey the law of God, and to cease from doing evil; but is, on the contrary, laid under an obligation to bear testimony against the unrighteous enactment:—therefore,

Resolved, That we repudiate the doctrine, that slavery as a system, or institution, or thing existing in the form of law, is sin, while the slaveholder, for whose benefit the law or institution has been framed, and who is directly the perpetrator of the wrong, is innocent, and is entitled to be received into society, and even into the church, as respectable and Christian man. In our judgment, this doctrine involves the monstrous principle, that sin ceases to be sin when sanctioned by human law, and interwoven with the texture of society—a doctrine which would, under similar circumstances, justify polygamy, piracy, idolatry, or any other sin that should obtain the sanction of a legal enactment, or be elevated to the dignity of a social institution.

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